World Alliance News Letter

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In Memoriam

The World Alliance and the Church Peace Union are saddened and feel a great sense of loss in the death on February 5 of their long-time friend and associate, Dr. E. Guy Talbott, who for the past several years had been secretary of the International Center in San Francisco. This Center represents not only our own organizations, but the American Association for the United Nations, the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, Citizens for Victory, Americans United for World Organization, the World Citizenship Movement and some twenty or more local agencies interested in various phases of world peace. It also serves as headquarters for offices in Los Angeles, Portland and Seattle. The success of this Center, with its multiplied and far-reaching activity, is due principally to the untiring efforts of Guy Talbott. No man did a finer work, or spent his life to better purpose. Literally, he gave his life to the cause of international friendship and world peace. He was intelligent, energetic, and had a remarkable ability to make friends. He was truly a peacemaker of whom it was said, "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God."

The World Alliance, Church Peace Union and allied groups, members of the Board of Trustees and Executive Committees, as well as his many other friends associated in our common work, join in loving sympathy to Mrs. Talbott and the family. We have all lost a good friend and a splendid worker in a mighty cause. By continued faith and work on our part his devotion and efficient services will not be lost.

Twilight or Dawn

The historic drama of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals have been largely missed by those who have publicized the proposals and the public to whom they are addressed. Whatever the reasons, the comparative apathy of public opinion is a menace to the hope for a just and stable peace and must be overcome.

Public apathy is a menace because no effective organization can come into being or endure without the loyal support of men and women in all walks of life in countries throughout the world. Public opinion is the lifeblood of international organization. Unless it is sound and strong, the governments, at least in the democratic countries, will not be willing or able to pioneer in reorganizing international relationships on a more cooperative level. They will tend to relapse into customary patterns of power politics which lead to world war. Only the will of the peoples can make the United Nations a living reality in the postwar world.

Is a determined and disciplined popular will to world order so difficult to achieve? The necessary conditions seem never more favorable than they are today.

In the first place, there is tremendous dramatic appeal, if we have but the imagination to sense it, in the process of which the Dumbarton Oaks proposals are a part. In the midst of a global war, the statesmen of the United Nations, supported by the conscience of mankind, have had the vision to make a new start. They have analyzed some of the defects of the League, in the light of subsequent experience, and worked to correct them. They have used the elements in the League which have proved sound. Above all, they have moved forward, convinced that, no matter how many set-backs and defeats mankind has suffered in the past, the struggle for a better world order can be won.

Surely this effort is inspiring. Here, in the midst of darkness, is light; in the midst of suffering, hope; in the midst of tragic confusion, a way out. Here is the prospect, as Pope Pius XII said so truly in his Christmas Eve broadcast, that "mankind, as it emerges from the dark night in which it has been so long submerged, will be able to hail the dawn of a new and better era of its history." To take a full part in the great constructive struggle for world organization is the high opportunity of this generation.

Let us realize also the terrible urgency of the task. This may well be the last chance for many generations to build a sturdy dyke against the flood of total war. Unless the nations can now control the robot bomb, a few years hence may be too late. As Raymond Fosdick said so movingly a few days ago:

> Always in the affairs of men there is a clock that strikes the final hour . . . . Today the dead of this second World War, over an area far larger than Europe, are uncounted and uncountable. It is getting late for action. The sun is well past afternoon, and in winter days like these the twilight falls swiftly.

Inspired by a moral imperative and driven by a social necessity, our people and the other peoples can overcome every obstacle to a better world order. It is the business of our churches to see that both are clearly understood.

The Crimea Conference

The agreements of the Big Three Conference in the Crimea, just released, "justify and surpass most of the hopes placed on this fateful meeting," as the *New York Times* states. The concrete agreements on military staff meetings, a joint control commission for Germany, a joint commission on German reparations in kind, joint responsibility for self-government in liberated Europe, more democratic procedures in Poland and Yugoslavia, quarterly meetings of the foreign secretaries, and on voting procedure in the peace organization, all pave the way for a fruitful United Nations Conference at San Francisco on April 25. The goals were reaffirmed and the compromises reached offer promise of improvement. The tide towards a better world order has not ebbed. It is running stronger than ever.

In the long run, the main achievement of the conference may be the basic agreement to collaborate in peace as in war. The three leaders stated in their conclusion:

> Our meeting here in the Crimea has reaffirmed our common determination to maintain and strengthen in the peace to come that unity of purpose and of action which has made victory possible and certain for the United Nations in this war. We believe that this is a sacred obligation which our Governments owe to our peoples and to all the peoples of the world.
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> Only with the continuing and growing cooperation and understanding among our three countries and among all the peace-loving nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized—a secure and lasting peace which will, in the words of the Atlantic Charter, "afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."
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> Victory in this war and the establishment of the proposed international organization will provide the greatest opportunity in all history to create in the years to come the essential conditions of such a peace.

House Resolution on Pattern

Three Representatives, a Catholic, a Protestant and a Jew, joined on January 17 in supporting a resolution presenting the seven principles of the three-faith declaration, *The Pattern for Peace,* and urging that the principles be "adhered to as the basis for the establishment of peace and a just world order." Commented the Catholic weekly, *America*:

> By introducing their resolution, Congressmen Charles M. LaFollette, of Indiana, Michael A. Feighan, of Ohio, and Samuel A. Weiss of Pennsylvania, have put Congress upon its mettle by calling to its attention the deep and abiding concern of all church groups for a peace worthy of the name.

Representative Feighan, the Catholic layman, spoke of the churches' emphasis on international organization:

> Only one motive will ever bring success to the new organization for peace. Only one motive will ever arouse in our people and in the other peoples that unflagging, permanent flow of effort that will be necessary; only one dynamic will ever empower us to carry through, and that motive, that dynamic, is the conviction that such an organization is a moral imperative, demanded now by the interdependence of the family of nations.

Representative LaFollette, a Protestant layman, stressed the wide agreement among religious leaders on the principles of the Pattern:

> This unanimity is all the more impressive in view of the wide divergencies among the same religious groups on so many matters of doctrine and ecclesiastical policy. I think it may be considered a measure of the importance they ascribe to the problem of organizing the peace that, despite all their continuing differences, they have chosen to carry out this common enterprise.

Representative Weiss, a Jewish layman, spoke on the need for spiritual regeneration and a righteous will to peace:

> All the most perfected, practical machinery in the world for maintaining peace will not avail until within men and nations there is created the spirit of the will to peace.

Education for Peace

Dr. Y. C. James Yen, the Chinese leader who is famous as the founder and general director of the Chinese Mass Education Movement, stressed the importance of popular education in the strategy of peace at the Metropolitan Opera Victory Rally, broadcast on January 13. Dr. Yen pointed out the prevalence of illiteracy, undernourishment and disease among three-fourths of the world's population, and the impossibility of achieving full international harmony under such conditions. Mass education is necessary, if the peace structure is to endure:

> We are all talking these days about world council, world court, international police force, and so forth. They all have their place, an important place, but these international organizations are only super-structures. And unless they are built in the hearts and the minds of the people, backed by the intelligence and the conscience of the masses of the world's peoples, they are doomed to fail as they have failed before. We must not only just *organize* the world for peace. We must also *educate* the world for peace. Peace, to be lasting, must be built on the people.

Dr. Yen went on to describe the practical character of a mass education movement. Tested techniques have been developed. The cost would be small compared with the cost of war—the ten million dollars spent in one hour in the American war effort would give a fine start to such a movement. All that is lacking is "the will and imagination to put the job in hand."

Is it not the task of our churches to arouse that will and imagination? Certainly, the task is an integral part of the struggle for a better world order.

Study, Support and Strengthen Dumbarton Oaks

Sections of the Message of the Cleveland conference of Protestant leaders, January 16-19 (See SUGGESTED READING*).*

Christians must act in situations as they exist and must decide what God's will demands of them there. At all times they must keep the ultimate goals clearly in view but they have equal responsibility to mark out attainable steps toward those goals, and support them. An idealism which does not accept the discipline of the achievable may lose its power for good and ultimately lend aid to forces with whose purpose it can not agree.

If we accept, provisionally, situations which fall short of our ultimate objective, we cannot be normally bound to sustain and perpetuate them. That would be stultifying. It is the possibility of change which is the bridge from the immediate situation to the Christian ideal. That possibility is an imperative for Christians, who must constantly maintain tension with any secular order.

The churches through their leaders have the task of assisting people in situations of this kind. Specifically, in the realm of world order, the churches must declare their understanding of the will of God for life among the peoples of the world. They must do this while proposals are being framed. They must continue to do it after governments have made their decisions. When a concrete proposal for world organization is presented, Christian leaders must help the people to decide whether it marks a presently obtainable step in the right direction and, if so, urge them to give it their support.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals

We commend these Proposals to the consideration of the churches.

The Proposals are the only plan which governments have thus far evolved and therefore are the only available index to the extent of agreement which is now possible.

They set forth certain purposes and principles essential to world order and peace.

They provide for continuing collaboration of the United Nations, and in due course, of other nations.

They provide through an Assembly for the periodic consultation of all member nations and for promoting cooperation in the interest of the general welfare.

They provide an Economic and Social Council for facilitating solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems and for coordinating international policies and agencies in this field.

They provide, through a Security Council, for continuing consultation of representatives of the greater powers and of selected lesser powers with a view to a peaceful settlement of disputes and the restraint of aggression.

The Proposals now stand at a formative stage and the way has been opened for recommendations for improvement which will make them more acceptable to the Christian conscience.

Accordingly, we recommend that the churches support the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as an important step in the direction of world cooperation, but because we do not approve of them in their entirety as they now stand, we urge the following measures for their improvement:

1. A Preamble should reaffirm those present and long range purposes of justice and human welfare which are set forth in the Atlantic Charter and which reflect the aspirations of peoples everywhere.

2. The Charter should clearly anticipate the operation of the Organization under international law and should provide for the development and codification of international law, to the end that there shall be a progressive subordination of force to law.

3. A nation, while having the right to discuss its own case, should not be permitted to vote when its case is being judged in accordance with predetermined international law.

4. In order to permit such changes in the Charter of the Organization as may from time to time become necessary, the provision for amendments should be liberalized so as not to require concurrence by all the permanent members of the Security Council.

5. A special Commission should be established wherein the progress of colonial and dependent peoples to autonomy, and the interim problems related thereto, will become an international responsibility.

6. A special Commission on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms should be established.

7. The Charter should specify that all nations willing to accept the obligations of membership shall thereupon be made members of the Organization.

8. More specific provision should be made for promptly initiating the limitation and reduction of national armaments.

9. There should be provisions designed more clearly to protect and defend the smaller nations from possible subjection to the arbitrary power of the great.

Study and Action for American Participation

The Protestant churches must use all their facilities, denominational and interdenominational, to secure American participation in international cooperation. New methods of education and all legitimate means by which public opinion is formed must be utilized in this effort. We urge a concerted program of intensive study of the Message of this Conference, with the appropriate social and political action as an integral part. This program should include youth in churches and colleges, men and women in our military and civilian services, church members, and all men and women of good will in the community.

The League and the United Nations

Following is the major part of the address by Dr. Raymond B. Fosdick before the League of Nations Association on February 1 at the Hotel Biltmore in New York. The occasion commemorated the 25th anniversary of the founding of the League of Nations.

It is fashionable in certain quarters today to voice the easy generalization that the League of Nations failed. It all depends on what you mean by the League of Nations. If by the League you mean the Covenant with its provisions for common counsel and collective security, I maintain that in that sense the League did not fail. It was people that failed. It was not the idea or the machinery that broke down at the end; the breakdown was in governments and foreign offices, in public opinion and leadership, in courage and vision. It was not a failure of the Covenant that brought about the collapse of 1939. It was a failure of the human spirit.

It seems to me that this point is important as we take up once more the task of building new international machinery on a global scale. Because we live in a mechanistic age we are perhaps inclined to be misled by mechanistic analogies. Some of us seem to have the idea that a world order can be devised which will be pretty well fool proof against human failure. We build a gyroscope to steer a ship or a plane, an instrument that keeps the vehicle true on its course. Why can't we have a kind of international gyroscope that we could set once and for all to avoid war—an automatic pilot that would allow the rest of us to go away and forget it? This, of course, is a picture in caricature, but there is enough truth in it to be dangerous. We have a tendency to over-emphasize the importance of the device, and to underestimate the part which patience and intelligence and hard work must play, 365 days a year, if we are going to make any device we can contrive effective in avoiding catastrophe. Our task is to create, in cooperation with other nations, the best instrument that we can make. But that is just the beginning, the first step. No plan on earth, no matter how watertight it may seem to be, can guarantee anything in the way of an orderly future unless behind it there are continually marshalled the positive forces of public opinion. I have no hesitation in saying that the Covenant of the League of Nations, loyally supported by the people and governments of the world, was entirely adequate to see us through the difficulties of the nineteen thirties.

Dumbarton Oaks an Improvement

Now in making this statement I do not say that the Covenant was perfect as it stood or that its provisions cannot be altered to advantage. It would be an affront to human intelligence to assert that after a quarter of a century of experience and a second World War we could make no improvements upon a document that was drafted as a completely new experiment in a field where there were few signposts and no beaten paths. This is why Dumbarton Oaks is so significant. It is an attempt to build on the knowledge gained in the last twenty-five years. It utilizes the ideas that proved successful at Geneva, such as the Assembly of all the states, the small executive Council, the permanent secretariat, the World Court; but to my mind—and I speak as an old League official—it introduces some structural improvements in those ideas, and the plan as a whole is better adapted to the circumstances we face in 1945. In respect to some details I believe that the tentative proposals which have come out of Dumbarton Oaks are at the moment less complete than the finished League Covenant, but I am confident that a satisfactory document will be evolved. There is honor enough for both instruments without invidious comparisons.

But again I would stress the point that the United Nations charter is only the first step. It is the foundation upon which the structure of a united world has yet to be built. Once this document is agreed to, are we prepared loyally to see it through, to support it in good days and bad, in success and failure, in all the disappointments and discouragements of the years ahead? That is when the real test is going to come. If we place behind this new organization the determination and the power which to the world's infinite tragedy were denied to the League of Nations, it will succeed. But if apathy and discouragement and selfishness once more gain the upper hand, this experiment will go down as another attempt—perhaps the last attempt—made by the race of men to avert a universal doom.

American Participation a Necessity

But this relates to the future. First things come first. We have a problem to face here in this country in 1945. The immediate question is the ratification of the United Nations charter, once it is completed. Are we going to be able to do it? Can the isolationists defeat it? Personally, I am no longer afraid of anything the isolationists can do. Time has at last caught up with them—time and rocket bombs and airplanes flying 500 miles an hour and new weapons, now within reach, which make our present weapons the toys that children play with. In such a world there is no longer any reality in the conception that we can be a Robinson Crusoe nation, frightened by footprints and living on illusions. The liberty to be left alone, not interfered with and not helped, is not real liberty. It is merely a primeval instinct. Thomas Jefferson, sailing as our minister to France, missed his boat at Baltimore because it took

him five days to get there from Philadelphia. In that kind of world isolationism was at least understandable. Today it is only an outworn shibboleth.

The war against isolationism is really finished, although there is some mopping up still to be done. What remains is guerrilla action—pockets of resistance here and there—sniping on the part of isolated stragglers who still wear the uniform of the old cause and who have not yet caught up with the news that their army was definitely put to rout at Kittyhawk in North Carolina, forty-two years ago.

Perfectionism a Danger

No, I am not afraid of the isolationists, but I am afraid of the perfectionists. I saw the damage they did in 1919. One of the bitter ironies of that period was that the Battalion of Death in the Senate was joined by many of the liberals in the United States in defeating the League of Nations. Their motives were completely different but their object was the same. One group said the League was too good to be true; the other said it wasn't good enough. And it was this latter group—these perfectionists who didn't want to start until every 'i' was dotted and every 't' was crossed—that aided in crippling the League of Nations at its birth.

And the arguments of these perfectionists of 1919 have a familiar ring today. They didn't like the way certain boundary lines were drawn. They didn't like the Polish Corridor that separated East Prussia from the main body of Germany. They didn't like the inclusion of the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia, or the Austrian Tyrolese in Italy. They didn't like the ceding of Shantung to Japan. They didn't like the powers of the Reparations Commission. Well, many of the rest of us didn't like some of those things either. They were the result of compromises that are always incident to the settlement of involved and complex issues. But where we in 1919 differed from the perfectionists was at this point: We refused to subscribe to their implied theory that unless a thing is perfect, it is not worth fighting for. The only way to begin is to begin—begin with what you have, faulty as it may be, and work out the solution by trial and practice. These people who don't want to start until every detail is ideally arranged will end up by not starting at all.

The Experience of the Constitution

That is just the way the constitutional fathers felt in 1787. They finally produced a document that was, as Madison said, "a bundle of compromises." They had compromised the issue of slavery; they had compromised the question of representation; they had dodged the whole issue of the Bill of Rights. And when it was all done, they said to themselves: "The only way to begin is to begin." . . .

Social advance is always a compromise between loyalties, and progress is achieved only when men have perspective enough to choose the larger loyalty instead of the lesser one. John Hancock of Massachusetts speaks to us today:

> I give my assent to this Constitution, in full confidence . . . The people of this commonwealth will quietly acquiese in the voice of the majority, and where they see a want of perfection in the proposed form of government, they will endeavor, in a constitutional way, to have it amended.

That is the lesson which our own history teaches us. The United Nations charter is not going to be perfect, and the settlements of many of the war issues will be along lines which will not completely satisfy us, and may not satisfy some of us at all. But if we insist on waiting until our own unilateral standards of perfection have been attained, and if in disillusionment we refuse to accept practicable compromises, then the opportunity will have passed, and the strategic moment will be gone, and it will be too late. The Constitution of 1787 came just in time to avoid chaos. Such was the discord and bad feeling between the states that in another year the chance for union would have gone. Always in the affairs of men there is a clock that strikes the final hour.

The Hour is Late

But I am convinced that this time we shall not fail. I believe that human intelligence is capable of solving the unprecedented chaos which the world faces. And we shall solve it because we must. John Quincy Adams said of the Constitution of the United States that it had been "extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant nation." That is the way most advances come in human society. It was under such circumstances that Magna Carta was born, and the Bill of Rights of 1688, and the Mayflower Compact and the Declaration of Independence. More often than not it has been necessity—grinding necessity—which has furnished the spur for the step that had to be taken.

That necessity is with us now—imperative necessity—presenting us with the alternative of a doom to which we will not consent. But again I say the hour is late. In that first meeting of the Council of the League of Nations to which I referred—the meeting that was held on January 16, 1920—there were strong overtones of urgency, reflected in all the speeches. Ten million soldiers lay buried on the Continent of Europe. It must not happen again. Here was a chance to begin the building of what M. Bourgeois called "the new world." That was twenty-five years ago, and today the dead of this second World War, over an area far larger than Europe, are uncounted and uncountable. It is getting late for action. The sun is well past afternoon, and in winter days like these the twilight falls swiftly.

Jewish Leaders on Dumbarton Oaks

The following message was issued on January 18 by the Synagogue Council of America, Rabbi Herbert S. Goldstein, President, and by the Council's Committee on Peace Studies, Rabbi Isaac Landman, Chairman.

The Synagogue Council of America greets with profound gratitude the labors of the leaders and the representatives of the United Kingdom, The Soviet Union, China and our own country as set forth in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for an International Organization to achieve the maintenance of international peace and security. Although these proposals are admittedly tentative, and constitute only a preliminary and incomplete statement of a hope yet to be fulfilled, the Synagogue Council acclaims the temper in which they are drawn. The statesmen of the four Allied Nations testify to the faith that resides in the human spirit and bespeak our own conviction that men and nations can and will cooperate to free the world of the curse of war.

The Synagogue Council of America is in full accord with the recommendation in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals to establish a Security Council, an International Court of Justice, and to develop such measures as shall advance the possibilities of Universal Peace.

The Security Council would be empowered to employ force to maintain or restore international peace. Use of force to suppress the persecutor and to vanquish the oppressor is a recognized principle of Judaism. Jewish Rabbinic tradition distinguishes clearly between "wars of offense" and "wars of defense." Wars of offense are those waged by aggressor peoples and are in defiance of the laws of God and man: Judaism condemns such wars. Wars of defense, however, are those waged against aggressors who would conquer, enslave and destroy other peoples: Judaism makes such war obligatory, and in every country where Jews have lived they have taken part in wars of defense against the aggressor. Now that the hope to make aggressor nations powerless is inherent in the charter of the United Nations, Judaism accepts as a divine obligation the call to take up arms whenever and under what conditions a defensive battle must be waged against those who attempt to destroy the peace of the world.

We commend with deep fervor the proposed International Court of Justice to which power and means will be granted to enforce its decisions. Judaism, often referred to erroneously as exclusively a "religion of law," was the first to entwine Law with Justice (Justice, justice shalt thou pursue, that thou mayest live: Deut. 16:20) and crowned both with the attribute of Mercy (For I desire mercy, and not sacrifice: Hosea 6:6) to soften and assuage the hardness and relentlessness of the strict interpretation of Law. The reign of Law alone, in its austerity and rigor, may prove as inefficient to thwart international aggression and crime as it has been within the individual nations. Only in the application of Law tempered with Justice and long-suffering in Mercy, by no means, however, clearing the guilty (Exodus 34:6-7), may be achieved the contemplated and longed-for cooperation of the nations in the adjustment and settlement of international disputes without conflict and recourse to war.

To achieve the purposes envisaged by the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, the conduct of men and nations must accept the sanctions of the Ethical Law, proclaimed by Judaism as the *sine qua non* for the redemption and salvation of humanity. The bow and the sword and the battle will be banished from the earth, warns the Prophet (Hosea 2:20-22), only when mankind will become betrothed to God in righteousness and justice, in loving kindness and compassion on faithfulness. These divine attributes, in which man shares, transmute the problem of war and peace into the realm of the Ethical Principles taught by our Prophets, without which an enduring peace is impossible. Nor is a just and enduring peace probable unless it shall be universal. Therefore, the Synagogue Council of America hails the purpose of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals to implement the friendly relations among nations with appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace. In due time, these measures should aim to fulfill the vision of the Prophets to bring near the day when swords will be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks, when the implements of war will be forged into implements of plenty and of good for all, when nations shall no more learn the arts of war and the fear of Fear shall be banished from among men (Isaiah 2:4; Micah 4:3-4).

The Synagogue Council feels, however, that the Dumbarton Oaks Document, as did the Covenant of the League of Nations, lacks the Prophetic passion to stir and capture the universal spiritual and ethical values inherent in the souls of men. The making of an enduring peace is a challenge to these values. "But the work of righteousness shall be peace," says Isaiah (32:17), "and the effect of righteousness, quietness and confidence forever."

The Dumbarton Oaks Document provides the machinery for the possible prevention of future wars, not for the establishing of universal peace; proposals for the suppression of international violence after these occur, not for their prevention; a mechanism calculated to rectify and adjudicate international strife, not an instrument to eliminate the bases of strife and violence and war. Unless justice and righteousness are enthroned as the capstone of the aim of any organization that proposes to achieve it, the world can have no hope for an enduring peace. There can be no hope for an enduring peace unless there is reconversion of the human spirit to the inspired insight of Isaiah that man must work righteousness to earn peace, since only the

effect of righteousness can assure to mankind perpetual quietness and confidence.

Peace predicated on such foundations would mean the cessation of the racial or color injustices by which one third of the world's population, which happens to be white, denies rights and opportunities to the other two thirds of the population which happen to be black or brown or yellow. It would mean an end to the exploitation of primitive groups by enlightened peoples. It would mean that nations economically disadvantaged are helped to self-improvement and economic reconstruction, even as we bring such aid to the disadvantaged in our own midst. It would mean the spiritual regeneration of the human family to that concept of just and righteous interrelation in which the aggressors within each nation would desist from squeezing and oppressing their neighbors and fellow citizens for their own personal aggrandizement. All the most perfected, practical machinery in the world for maintaining peace will not avail until within men and nations there is created the spirit of the will to peace.

This hope and possibility, one may say, belongs in the realm of religion rather than practical statesmanship. Perhaps what the world suffers from most is a condition in which the prophetic principles do not animate statesmanship. Statesmanship, the Synagogue Council of America holds, must be animated and governed by the great principle first enunciated in the Old Testament (Lev. 19:17-18) and then spread the world over through its quotation in the New Testament, "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart—but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Nonetheless, the Synagogue Council of America welcomes the Proposals of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference as marking a most significant step forward in human striving to answer the question long ago propounded by the Prophet (Malachi 2:10): "Have we not all one father? Hath not God created us all?"

Y.M.C.A. and Dumbarton Oaks

The national board of the Y.M.C.A. announced on February 4 that the 1,500 branches of the organization throughout the country would be urged to promote the study and support of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Discussion groups and forums both among Y.M.C.A. members and on a community-wide basis are being recommended as part of the public affairs program. A letter from Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. commended the program:

> The successful establishment of an international security organization along the broad lines proposed at Dumbarton Oaks will depend to a great extent upon public understanding of the issues involved. The Department of State earnestly welcomes such constructive discussion programs as that contemplated by the Young Men's Christian Associations.

United Nations Honor Flag

The National Education Association, backed by the U. S. Office of Education and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, has suggested that schools fly the United Nations Honor Flag for the observance of Victory Day in Europe, to make the day "a step in a great program of world appreciation and understanding." The letter recommending this practice states:

> For the past two years the United Nations, in cooperation with leaders and prominent members of more than a score of civic, patriotic, religious, and fraternal organizations, have been developing a United Nations Honor Flag. This flag has been flying over schools, stores, theatres, office and other buildings in the Nation's Capital as well as some of the other United Nations for more than a year. It has proved acceptable in practice and is an effective method of showing honor and respect to the other 43 nations who are helping win the war, and who must stand united in winning the peace.
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> The display of this Honor Flag along with our own on V-E-Day will help us all remember that other nations also share in the victory. Such a gesture of honor by the people of America will be noted by the entire world and will help generate goodwill for our nation and the principles for which it stands.

The United Nations Honor Flag is largely a tribute to the patient and persevering efforts of one layman, Mr. Brooks Harding, a small manufacturer from upstate New York. Mr. Harding worked zealously to find a flag acceptable to the 44 United Nations, which could be flown with the flag of each nation as a symbol of the coalition. Flying 44 flags is too difficult a procedure in most cases. The two-flag system opens the way to wide observance.

The flag which has proved most acceptable, since it differs from the flags of the separate nations, is the flag of the Four Freedoms (not defined precisely). The flag is simple: four vertical red bars on a white background. It is easy to make (the National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., can give directions) and it is being manufactured by some of the larger flag manufacturers. It is flown beneath the American flag or to its right (the latter is better indoors).

This project seems an excellent method for promoting in a visual way the wider loyalty necessary for postwar cooperation. It is valuable not alone for V-E Day, but as a regular practice. It can become a constant reminder to the members of each nation that we live in one world, and can offer concrete evidence to the other nations that this fact is widely recognized. The United Nations Honor Flag deserves a cordial welcome from religious groups. Those who customarily fly the flags of Church and Nation might well add the flag designed to honor the United Nations.

High School Contest

The nineteenth in the series of annual national high school contests conducted by the League of Nations Association, will be held this year on April 13. The main theme of the contest will be the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. First prize is a cash award of $400, rather than a study tour as in former years. A study packet on proposals for world organization may be secured by teachers from the American Association for the United Nations (as the L.N.A. is now called), 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

SUGGESTED READING

The Pattern for Peace and a Just World Order. May be secured from this office. Single copy, free.

A reprint from the Congressional Record of the House resolution and the speeches by Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Congressmen on *The Pattern for Peace.*

Message to the Churches. May be secured from this office. Single copy, 10 cents; 50 or more, 5 cents each, plus postage.

The full text of the statement of the National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace, held in Cleveland, January 16-19. The message of these 450 leaders from 33 Protestant denominations constitutes a realistic and forward-looking program for Protestant churches on Dumbarton Oaks (see page 3) and a number of other international problems. Important material for all Protestant groups.

Judging the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. May be secured from this office. Two cents per copy.

This report by the Post-War World Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace offers timely material for Catholic study groups. It calls for acceptance of the good features of the Proposals and recommends several improvements.

The Relation of the Church to the War in the Light of the Christian Faith. Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10. 25 cents.

An important study for Protestant leaders, prepared by a committee of 26 scholars, headed by Professor Robert L. Calhoun of Yale.

Freedom and Civilization by Bronislaw Malinowski. Roy Publishers, New York. $3.50

A major conclusion of this posthumous volume of the late great anthropologist is the same as that arrived at through religious faith: that war is not an essential institution of human society. Another major conclusion is that freedom is basic to society. Good for pastors and advanced students.

The United States and the World Court by Denna Frank Fleming. Doubleday Doran, New York. $2.00

This little book, written by Professor Fleming of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, gives in great detail the tragic story of the failure of the United States to accept its responsibility at the end of World War I. The author, a recognized authority on international affairs, marshals his arguments in fearless words, and puts his finger upon the men who were responsible for bringing on this war. The same forces are at work underground today. Read Professor Fleming's book for fully documented details.

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Senator Thomas analyzes in a straightforward and stimulating fashion the fear of idealism, of entangling alliances, of England and of Russia, and of revolution, which may endanger America's part in the peace.

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The Walgreen Lectures for 1944 present analyses of international relations by experts in ten fields of study. For advanced groups.

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Soldier to Civilian by George K. Pratt. Whittlesey House, New York. $2.50.

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